

the underlying bill is not the appropriate place to address such critical and complicated immigration issues as the H-1B visa. So I thank Senator BYRD for offering his amendment. I strongly support it and I hope that my colleagues will as well when it comes to a vote.

Mr. FEINGOLD. Mr. President, today's vote is the first part of a three-step budget reconciliation package that actually leaves this Nation's budget worse off than it is now, not by tens of millions of dollars, which itself would have been a disservice to the American public, but by tens of billions of dollars.

Using reconciliation to push through legislation that will worsen our budget deficit and add billions more to the mountain of debt our children and grandchildren will have to pay is a perversion of a process designed to expedite measures to reduce the deficit.

Reconciliation was intended to help facilitate the enactment of measures to reduce the deficit. It is ironic, to say the least, that it should be used to enact measures that only aggravate our budget deficits and increase our massive debt.

No one who has served in this body for the past 10 years, and especially the past 4½ years, should pretend to be shocked, however. This is only the latest abuse of a reconciliation process that in recent years has been the principal tool used to enact some of the most reckless fiscal policies in recent history.

But for even the most cynical, there are new lows in this bill, most notably the use of reconciliation to jam through a controversial policy measure to permit drilling for oil in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. At the very least, the Senate should be allowed to conduct a full and open debate on this misguided decision to undermine the crown jewel of our National Wildlife Refuge System. To say that the inclusion of this provision in the reconciliation package is based on dubious revenue assumptions would be kind. By perverting the budget process to push through oil and drilling in the Arctic Refuge, the majority has successfully squandered away the legacy of environmental stewardship initiated by President Eisenhower in 1960.

Also of concern are the significant changes to the Medicare and Medicaid programs, cutting programs that offer critical health care services to people who most need it. The Senate package does adopt some positive changes, such as cutting the Medicare Advantage slush fund, preventing Medicare cuts to physician payments, and protecting inpatient rehabilitation hospitals. Unfortunately, the President has made it clear that he does not support many of the provisions that will protect beneficiaries, but instead would rather give money to insurance and pharmaceutical companies.

The administration has stated that it prefers provisions offered in the House

budget package. The House plan for Medicaid cuts includes cutting programs for children, pregnant mothers, the disabled, and the elderly, while including stipulations to shift costs onto already poor and vulnerable populations. This bill will result in considerable changes to these programs that could negatively affect multiple generations of American families, and I am deeply concerned about the possibility of a final conference report that adopts the House approach on these issues.

In one of the few bright spots in this package, the Agriculture Committee overwhelmingly and in a bipartisan manner proposed an extension of the Milk Income Loss Contract, MILC, program as part of its reconciliation package. This committee action and the lack of an attempt to remove the extension on the floor show the strong support for this vital dairy safety net. I renew my call to the administration to fulfill the President's campaign promise and actively work with members of the House to reaffirm the Senate's strong support for MILC.

I close by cautioning my colleagues in the majority party that the precedents set by previous reconciliation bills and being set in this one lay the groundwork for the leveraging through of policies they may find troubling the day Democrats become the majority party in the Senate. And that day will come.

My friends across the aisle may be thinking, "We have nothing to lose. When Democrats take control, there will be enough of them who will object to the kinds of abuses of the reconciliation process in which we engaged."

Well, if that is their thinking, they may be right. But I suggest that it is an unreliable strategy. The best protection against possible Democratic abuse of reconciliation in the future is to ensure that the rules are enforced as they were intended at all times, not just when they serve your immediate policy objectives.

Using reconciliation to enact controversial energy and health policies is an abuse of that process. Using reconciliation to enact legislation that will worsen budget deficits and increase the debt is an abuse of that process.

And, please, let's not waste the Senate's time with arguments that somehow this particular bill before us isn't an abuse because this bill, by itself, does not worsen the deficit. No matter how many pieces you slice it into, the reconciliation package will leave us with bigger deficits, not smaller ones.

When Congress and the White House become serious about cleaning up the fiscal mess they created, and when they are willing to spread the burden of that clean up across all programs—defense and nondefense discretionary programs, entitlements, and the spending done through the Tax Code—I am ready to help. But so long as we see reconciliation measures that are contemptuous

of the principles on which reconciliation was based, I must oppose them.

Mrs. BOXER. Mr. President, I strongly oppose the reconciliation bill before the Senate.

The bill would cut vital programs for the middle class, elderly, and poor in order to pave the way for yet another tax cut for the richest individuals in the country.

Hurricane Katrina focused the Nation's attention on America's poor and displaced. In the wake of the storm, the people demanded that Congress act to help Americans in need and were justifiably angry at the administration's slow and inadequate response. Americans recognize that their government should aid those in distress in order to make this a better country for everyone.

That is why I cannot believe only 2 months after Katrina, we have a bill that would cut Medicare and Medicaid by \$27 billion, increase Medicare premiums for seniors, cut the availability of affordable housing, and cut support for our farmers by \$3 billion.

Even worse, the House of Representatives is looking to make even deeper cuts to Medicare and Medicaid and to cut the food stamp program, child support enforcement, the foster care program, and student loan programs.

These cuts will harm millions of Americans.

And why are the Republicans doing this? Not to reduce the deficit, which is spinning out of control, but to provide tax cuts for millionaires that will at the end of the day actually increase the deficit.

The tax portion of the reconciliation package will provide \$70 billion in tax breaks—\$30 billion more than the proposed spending cuts. In a perversion of the budget reconciliation process, the Republicans will be adding to, not decreasing, the Nation's \$8 trillion debt.

The majority of those \$70 billion in tax breaks will go to the wealthy. People making over \$1 million a year will get an average tax cut of \$35,491. In comparison, those making between \$50,000 to \$200,000 a year will get a break of \$122. And those making less than \$50,000 a year will get an average tax cut of \$6.

That means that people who are most hurt by the spending cuts—the middle class, seniors, and the poor—will get almost no benefit from the tax cuts.

The reconciliation package also is a windfall for big oil. It would allow them to drill in one of America's most pristine areas—Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge. Fragile wilderness will be opened, threatened, and ultimately ruined for the sake of 6 months' worth of oil.

What makes America the greatest Nation in the world is our sense of community and compassion. Americans look out for each other, and our government should do the same.

The budget reconciliation package reflects none of the core American values of compassion and equity. Instead,